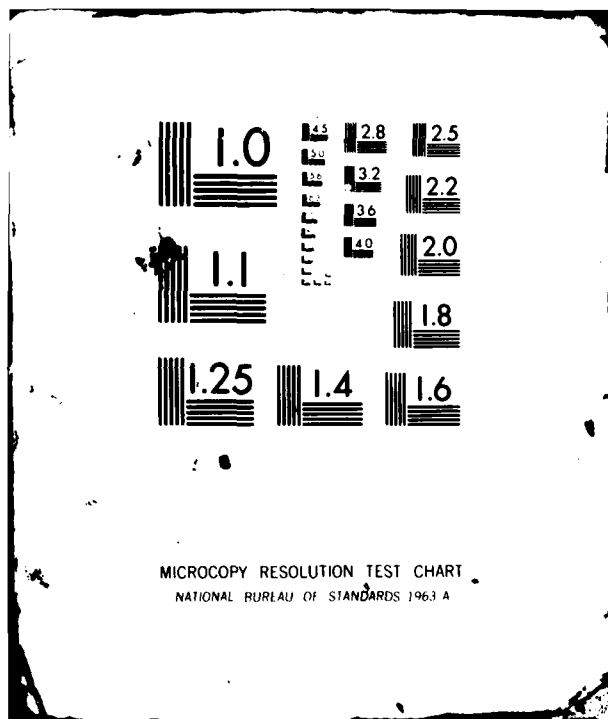END
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PERSONNEL TECHNOLOGY

AN EXAMINATION OF HISPANIC AND GENERAL POPULATION
PERCEPTIONS OF ORGANIZATIONAL ENVIRONMENTS
(Harry C. Triandis, Principal Investigator)

**DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
URBANA-CHAMPAIGN, ILLINOIS 61820**

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SELF-CONCEPTS AND VALUES AMONG

HISPANIC AND MAINSTREAM NAVY RECRUITS

Harry C. Triandis, Yoshihisa Kashima,

Judith Lisansky and Gerardo Marín

Technical Report No. ONR-7

February, 1982

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REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE	READ INSTRUCTIONS BEFORE COMPLETING FORM

1. REPORT NUMBER TR No. ONR-7	2. GOVT ACCESSION NO. AD-A112507	3. RECIPIENT'S CATALOG NUMBER

4. TITLE (and Subtitle) Self-concepts and Values among Hispanic and Mainstream Navy Recruits	5. TYPE OF REPORT & PERIOD COVERED Interm
	6. PERFORMING ORG. REPORT NUMBER

7. AUTHOR(s) Harry C. Triandis, Yoshihisa Kashima, Judith Lisansky, & Gerardo Marín	8. CONTRACT OR GRANT NUMBER(s) N 00014-80-C-0407

9. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS Department of Psychology University of Illinois 603 E. Daniel, Champaign, IL 61820	10. PROGRAM ELEMENT, PROJECT, TASK AREA & WORK UNIT NUMBERS NR 170-906

11. CONTROLLING OFFICE NAME AND ADDRESS Organizational Effectiveness Research Programs Office of Naval Research (Code 452) Arlington, VA 22217	12. REPORT DATE February, 1982
	13. NUMBER OF PAGES 48

14. MONITORING AGENCY NAME & ADDRESS(If different from Controlling Office)	15. SECURITY CLASS. (of this report) Unclassified
	15a. DECLASSIFICATION DOWNGRADING SCHEDULE

16. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of this Report)

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17. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of the abstract entered in Block 20, if different from Report)

18. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

19. KEY WORDS (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number)

Hispanics, Self-Concept, Ideal-Self, Values, Navy Recruits

20. ABSTRACT (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number)

A review of the published literature suggested six hypotheses concerning
similarities and differences among Hispanic and Mainstream self-concepts
and values. It was expected that Hispanics would be higher than the Main-
stream in values linked to subjugation to nature, being, present orientation,

lineality, collectivism, individuality, and uncertainty avoidance. Furthermore, they were expected to have a self-concept concerning their ability and a level of educational aspiration that is lower than the levels found among Mainstream individuals. Samples of 80 Hispanic and 80 Mainstream Navy recruits responded to a 62-item self concept and a 90-item ideal self (values) questionnaire. None of the hypotheses were supported. Discussion explores why the hypotheses generated by the review of the literature were not supported. It was argued that the findings in the literature may not be dependable, but also that the Navy sample is atypical. The Navy is apparently recruiting those Hispanics who have values that are most similar to the values of the Mainstream. In spite of the overwhelming similarity between the Hispanic and Mainstream Navy samples there were some subtle differences. The Mainstream emphasized individualistic values--honest, conservative, moderate--while the Hispanics emphasized interpersonal values--sensitive, simpatico, loyal, respected, dutiful, gracious, and conforming.

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Self-concepts and Values Among Hispanic and Mainstream Navy Recruits

Harry C. Triandis

Gerardo Marín

Yoshihisa Kashima,

&

Spanish Speaking Mental
Health Research Center

Judith Lisansky,

University of California, Los Angeles

University of Illinois, Urbana

Values are conceptions of relationships among abstract categories (e.g. humans, nature, time) which have strong affective components and imply preferences for a certain kind of action or state of affairs. They are probably the most widely used constructs among social scientists, humanists, and the public. Even philosophers deal with values in a special subdivision of their discipline called axiology. Modern axiologists argue that values are not only subjective entities but are inherent in the structure of reality. In other words, human biology and adaptation to the environment force certain structures of preference for particular situations and states of the world.

The literature on values is immense. For example, Albert and Kluckhohn (1959) compiled a bibliography of 2006 references. The main approaches to the study of values have been reviewed by Triandis, et al. (1972), while Rokeach (1968) has distinguished instrumental (what one does to reach desirable states) and terminal values (the desirable states themselves).

This paper first reviews some of the literature on Hispanic values, and then presents a study of the values of a group of Hispanic and Mainstream Navy recruits.

Hispanic Values

The literature on Hispanic values is highly controversial and often contradictory. Writers such as Hernandez, D. (1970), Hernandez, C. A., (1976), Rivera (1970), Rocco (1970) and Romano (1968) criticize the majority of social science research on values as ethnocentric and they

claim that it tends to label Hispanic values as inferior. Baca (1979),
Galarza (1970), Hernandez, D. (1970), and Morales (1971) argue that
values research tends to "blame the victim." Other authors, such as
Casavantes (1971) and Ramos (1979), argue that most differences in
values are attributable to socio-economic status rather than ethnicity.
This is supported by Farris (1976) who found that Mexican Americans were
more fatalistic than Anglos but that controls for education largely
removed these differences.

Hispanics are also a very heterogeneous group not only in terms of
their history in this country, their socio-economic characteristics, and
their rates of acculturation to the majority Anglo culture (Duran &
Bernard, 1973; Padilla, E., 1964/1958; Padilla, A., 1980; Steward, 1956)
but also in terms of their psycho-social characteristics. Whatley (1976),
for example, found significant differences in values between first,
second, third and fourth generation Mexican Americans. Szapocznik et al.
(1978a) assert that young Cubans acculturate faster than older Cubans,
and Chandler (1974) found that younger, better educated Mexican Americans
demonstrated more "modern" responses to questions on values related to
activity, the kin group, and occupational primacy. Changes in the
values held by Hispanics have also been documented by other authors
particularly those working with Mexican Americans (e.g., Burma, 1970;
Grebler, Moore & Guzman, 1970; Peñalosa, 1970).

While most of the research on Hispanic values has been directed
at documenting the differences between Hispanics and Anglos in their
value structures, some researchers who have conducted comparative studies
claim that there are little or no differences between Hispanic and Anglo
values. King (1975), who used the Draw-A-Person Test with Mexican American
and Anglo children, found differences by sex and age but not by ethnicity.

Escotet (1976) administered a value hierarchy instrument to Mexican American and Anglo adolescents and found only slight cross-cultural differences. Simmons (1971) applied the Simmons Value Survey to college students in Mexico and Oregon and concluded that the two groups were highly similar.

Many authors argue that Hispanic culture is characterized by a preference for subjugation to nature. Data that confirm this assumption has been presented for Mexican Americans (Evans & Anderson, 1973; Heller, 1966; Kluckhohn & Strodbeck, 1961; Madsen, 1972/1967; Saunders, 1954); Puerto Ricans (Padilla, E. 1964/1958; Wagenheim, 1972; Wells, 1969) and Cubans (Szapocznik et al., 1978b, 1978c, 1979). Holtzman, Diaz-Guerrero and Swartz (1975) extend the subjugation to nature assumption to Mexicans where they argue that Mexicans approach life in a "passive" way while individuals from the United States face life and its problems in an "active" fashion.

Other authors disagree with the characterization of Hispanics as passive, fatalistic and subjugated to nature. Achor (1978) for example, links a more fatalistic orientation to traditional rural life. Garza and Ames (1976) found that Mexican Americans were less external on their total scores on the Rotter Locus of Control Scale than Anglos, the opposite of what might be expected for fatalistic persons. Cole, Rodriguez and Cole (1978), in a similar study, found neither Mexican or Mexican American subjects to be more external than Anglos; in fact, the Mexican subjects were the most internal of the subjects tested in four countries. Tumin and Feldman (1971), Rogler (1972) and others question whether Puerto Ricans are indeed fatalistic, and most writers on Cubans, such as Gil (1976) and Pérez (1980), emphasize that Cuban values are very similar to Anglo middle-class values.

A preference for a present time orientation has also been postulated for Hispanics compared with a future time orientation for Anglos. Berk-Seligson (1980), Burma (1970), Evans and Anderson (1973), Heller (1966), Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961), Murillo (1976) and others claim that Mexican Americans rank present time orientation in the first order position. Landy (1959) and others come to similar conclusions for Puerto Rican culture, while research by Szapocznik et al. (1977, 1978b, 1978c, 1980) indicated that Cuban Americans prefer a present time orientation.

With regards to a preference for a present time orientation, the evidence is usually insufficient (Cohen, 1979; Turner, 1980). Achor (1978) argues that the present time orientation is a product of a rural way of life that no longer characterizes Mexican Americans while other authors contend that a present time orientation is the product of a subculture of poverty and not necessarily of Hispanic culture (Burma, 1970; Evans & Anderson, 1973; Lewis, 1966; Ramos, 1979).

Heller (1966), Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961), Meier and Rivera (1972) and others claim that Mexican Americans tend to prefer being over doing. Research on Puerto Ricans, such as Fitzpatrick (1971), and on Cubans (e.g., Alum, 1977; MacGaffey & Barnett, 1962) suggests similar conclusions. Szalay's (1978) work with word associations of Hispanics also indicates an emphasis on being.

Achor (1978), Grebler et al. (1970) and others argue that the emphasis on being is also a rural characteristic and is no longer a valid generalization for Hispanics. Safa (1974), Padilla (1964/1958) and others present a similar argument for Puerto Rican culture, while the majority of writers on Cuban Americans, such as Portes (1969) and Gil (1976), seem to indicate a doing rather than a being orientation.

As a matter of fact, Szapocznik et al. (1978c) found no support for a being orientation among Cubans.

Many writers emphasize the importance of lineality and collectivism in Hispanic culture, especially within the family. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) state that Mexican Americans placed lineality in the first order position, and Heller (1966), Madsen (1972/1967), Goodman and Beman (1968) and others emphasize a group orientation. Arguments for this value preference are based on observations of a collectivist orientation among Puerto Ricans (Fitzpatrick, 1971; Padilla, E., 1964/1958); the importance assigned to the family by Hispanics (e.g., Farris, 1976; Keef et al., 1978; King, 1975; Montenegro, 1974); Cuban gregariousness (Gil, 1976); and, a preference for cooperative behavior (Kagan & Madsen, 1971; McClintock, 1976).

At the same time, most writers indicate that Hispanic culture is also characterized by a high degree of individuality rather than individualism. According to Gillin (1965), Hispanic individuality recognizes each individual as the possessor of a unique worth but differs from individualism in that the individual does not necessarily come before the group. Many students of Mexican American culture such as Grebler et al. (1970), Madsen (1972/1967), and Saunders (1954) stress individuality. Fitzpatrick (1971), Wagenheim (1972) and others describe individuality in Puerto Rican culture, and Alum (1977) and MacGaffey and Barnett (1962) among Cubans.

Some of the research on child socialization, in particular Kagan's (1977) work on Mexican Americans, and Landy's (1959) and Diaz-Royo's (1974) on Puerto Ricans, seems to indicate a high degree of uncertainty avoidance which agrees with Hofstede's (1980) finding of a high level of uncertainty avoidance in Latin American countries.

Few authors discuss Hispanic work values, although several authors, such as Saunders (1954), Seda (1973) and Alum (1977) emphasize that Hispanics view work more as a means to an end rather than an end in itself. Research by Grebler et al. (1970) however, indicated that Mexican Americans did not differ significantly from Anglos in terms of their views toward work. Writers on Cubans, such as Gil (1976), and observers of Central and South Americans, such as Cohen (1979), emphasize the centrality of work and the importance of the work ethic.

The literature on Hispanic values also includes other assumptions that have received less attention on the part of researchers. Among these one finds lower self-esteem (Evans & Anderson, 1973; Thiel, 1977), feelings of deprivation, powerlessness and victimization (Rustin, 1973) and a lesser interest in idealized humanistic values than Anglos (Szapocznik et al., 1978b). Because of the lack of replications, these findings are even more suspect than those reported above.

Hypotheses

The review of the literature suggested the desirability of testing the following hypotheses:

1. Hispanics will be higher than Mainstream respondents in subjugation to nature combined with a being orientation; lower on mastery over nature combined with a doing orientation.

2. Hispanics will be higher than Mainstream subjects in present time orientation; lower on future time orientation.

3. Hispanics will be higher than Mainstream participants in lineality and collectivism; lower on individualism.

4. Hispanics will be higher than Mainstream subjects in individuality and lower in individualism.

5. Hispanics will be higher than Mainstream respondents in
   <u>uncertainty avoidance.</u>

6. Hispanics will have self-concepts characterized by lower levels
   of <u>ability</u> and lower <u>educational aspirations</u>, than Mainstream
   subjects. Feelings of deprivation, powerlessness, and victimi-
   zation will be more common among Hispanics than among Mainstream
   participants.

Measurement of Values

There are numerous ways to measure values. In an extensive review
of the various approaches found in the literature (Triandis et al., 1972,
pp. 76-83) it was concluded that no approach is entirely satisfactory.
Major problems of existing approaches (e.g. Rokeach) are that they cover
a relatively limited sample of human values; or ask the subject to make
judgments that are too abstract (e.g. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck). To
avoid these two problems Triandis constructed a 90-item questionnaire
obtained from a wide range of instruments, thus including the broadest
possible sample of human values, and asked subjects to make judgments
relevant to <u>themselves.</u>

A subject's self-concept is one way to capture values, since most
individuals see themselves in a favorable light. In addition, by asking
the subjects to indicate whether they desired particular goals or states,
it is possible to obtain an additional measure of values--this time the
attributes of the ideal self.

The items were pretested with several samples, ambiguities were
eliminated and finally a sample of 62 items was developed in which a
person indicated whether he is "the kind of person who..." The items
were quite specific, such as "...is dutiful, fulfilling all your obli-
gations?", "is pleasure loving, comfort seeking?" or "likes to be more

active than many people, who likes to change the environment." The
answers were given on a 5-point scale ranging from "Yes, for sure" to
"No, for sure" with "Don't know" in-between, and "Yes" and "No" as the
other points.

In a second part of the instrument the subject is asked whether "You
are the kind of person who wants..." and the 90 values are presented in
the form "to have good health", "to engage in adventuresome deeds (e.g.
climb dangerous mountains)" or "to succeed in politics." The 90 value
items were taken from the work of Barton (1961), Berrien (1965), Dawson
(1969), Dennis (1957), England (1967), Gillespie and Allport (1955),
Gorlow and Noll (1967), Jacob, Teune and Watts (1968), Klett and Yaukee
(1959), Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961), Morris (1956), Rokeach (1968),
Scott (1963), Stewart (1966), Wickert (1940) and Zurcher et al. (1965).
The subjects answer using a 5-point scale, ranging from "Essential"
through "Important," "Desirable," and "Not my concern" to "I reject
this." This format, previously used by Bühler (1962a, b), provides
judgments of greater reliability than rank-ordering, but has the dis-
advantage that too many values may be rated as "essential." However,
for a comparison of a population of subjects with another population this
is not a problem, since the average rating is never as high as 1.0 (the
rating for "Essential"). The obtained population mean scores, in fact,
ranged from 1.4 to 3.7.

To test the hypotheses mentioned above it was necessary to combine
several of the specific items used in this instrument. For example, to
test time orientation it was necessary to examine the responses of the
two samples to all the items that had a time referent.

Method

Instrument. The instrument was described in the previous section. It consisted of 62 items of self-description, 91 items of ideal self-description (a repeated item allowed estimates of reliability) and 10 items reflecting abstract philosophical positions.

Subjects. Eighty Hispanic and 80 Mainstream recruits responded to the questionnaire while being classified into Navy jobs, as part of a larger study of the perceptions of the social environment by these recruits. In each of the three Navy recruit stations (Florida, California, and Illinois) when a Spanish-surname recruit was to be classified, the classification officer checked the recruit's self-identification on an application form on which "Hispanic" was one of the ways in which the applicant could describe himself. If the Spanish-surname recruit had selected the "Hispanic" self-identification label, he was asked to complete the questionnaire. At that time another recruit (with a non-Spanish surname) was randomly selected and given the same questionnaire. These other recruits are here referred to as "Mainstream" and will include both whites and blacks as well as Hispanics who did not identify themselves as "Hispanic."

Analyses. A cluster analysis was used. The computer program used the correlation among the variables (items) of this study as a measure of similarity to form the clusters. The clusters were formed according to a linkage rule, which initially considered each variable as a cluster. At each step the two most similar clusters were joined to form a new cluster until a single cluster was obtained which included all the variables. The program prints a tree diagram to illustrate the sequence of clusters formed and a summary table for the clustering processes.

In addition, a MANOVA was done to determine if the Mainstream vs Hispanics variable produced significantly different patterns of answers.

Results

Complete answers were obtained from 74 (69) of the 80 Mainstream (Hispanic) subjects for the self-concept part and 70 (63) of the 80 subjects for the ideal self part of the questionnaire. One of the items (enjoys good food, music, and the beauty of nature more than most people) of the self-concept questionnaire was repeated in the first and last fifth of the questionnaire, to check for reliability. The reliability for Mainstream respondents in this item was .46; for Hispanics .52. Parallel form items were included in different parts of the ideal self questionnaire. One item was "to have a job that provides adventures, explorations of dangerous places" and another was "to engage in adventurous deeds (e.g. climb dangerous mountains)". The correlation between these two items for the Mainstream sample was .41, and for Hispanics it was .46. Two other items were "to develop independence of persons" and "to be independent of persons." Here the correlation for the Mainstream subjects was .55 (p<.001), but for the Hispanics it was only .28 (p<.03), suggesting that this change in wording results in a somewhat different meaning for this latter sample.

These reliabilities are normal for single items. Clusters or factors consisting of three or more items would reach acceptable reliabilities. Given these single item reliabilities the Spearman-Brown formula predicts that three items would have reliabilities greater than .67. For our tests of hypotheses we employed at least three items, and usually more.

Tests of Hypotheses

The first hypothesis was that Hispanics are higher in a subjugation to nature combined with a being orientation, while the Mainstream respondents are higher in a mastery over nature combined with a doing orientation. Some of our items are linked with these ideas. Specifically, if this

hypothesis is viable we expect the Hispanics to agree more than the
Mainstream subjects on the following self-concept items:

"who is humble, and does not insist on own views"

"who is adaptive, fits well in different groups, in different cultures"

"who is able to take in and be open to new experiences"

"who is well-adjusted, in harmony with the social environment"

"who waits to take in outside influences"

"who likes to experience the environment and analyze own feelings"

"who lets yourself be used" and

"who likes to change yourself to become what you can become";

and the Mainstream to be higher than the Hispanics on the items:

"who easily deals with difficult situations (e.g. floods, earthquakes)"

"who initiates, starts things changing"

"who takes advantage of opportunities, does not miss a chance"

"who likes to be more active than many people" and

"who likes to change the environment."

The corresponding items in the area of the ideal self would suggest
greater emphasis among the Hispanics on:

"be well taken care of by others"

"to be humble and do not insist on own views"

"to be well-adjusted, in harmony with your environment"

"able to wait quietly for outside influence"

"adaptive, fit well in different groups/cultures"

"able to take in, be open to new experiences" and

"be able to let yourself be used"

and greater emphasis among the Mainstream on:

"be able to deal with difficult conditions (floods, earthquakes)

"be able to start things changing" and

"take advantage of opportunities"

Our hypothesis predicts that the Hispanic means should show more agreement than the Mainstream means on eight items, the reverse pattern should be present on five items. However, in evaluating the hypothesis it is necessary to take into account the response set of our Hispanic respondents. Inspection of the total pattern of agreement with the self-concept items showed that the Hispanics showed more agreement with an item than the Mainstream subjects on 40 items, while the Mainstream respondents showed more agreement than the Hispanics on 22 items. Such a response set must be taken into account in predicting the expected number of agreements with the hypothesis. Furthermore, on the ideal-self items the Hispanic response set was even more extreme, since they indicated that 72 goals were essential/important to a greater extent than did the Mainstream subjects, while the reverse pattern was observed on only 19 goals. Thus the combined expected value must be corrected by the ratio of 112/41=2.73 to 1.00. The corrected expected value was then compared with the obtained value using the Fisher exact test. While all the tests (self-concept items Hispanics more than Mainstream, reverse pattern; ideal-concept items Hispanics more than Mainstream, reverse pattern; combined results) were in the predicted direction, none reached significance. Thus, there is no support for hypothesis 1.

Hypothesis 2 predicts that Hispanics will be high on present time orientation while the Mainstream subjects will be high on future time orientation. If this hypothesis is viable we expected the Hispanic self-concept data to be high on "enjoys good food, music, the beauty of nature more than most people," on "who is content, happy" and the ideal self to include "to have an exciting life, stimulation, activity" and "to love many simple pleasures." On the other hand the Mainstream respondents should agree more on future-linked items, such as "to have a job that builds a better future, changing the world for the better."

Tests parallel to the ones described above for hypothesis 1, found no support for this hypothesis.

The third hypothesis is that Hispanics are high in linearity and collectivism. We expected them to agree more than the Mainstream respondents on items such as "who is loyal, defends the honor of the group," "who shows sympathetic concern for others," "who does what your family wants you to do," "who is dutiful, fulfilling all your obligations," and emphasize the related items of the ideal self-concept. The Mainstream subjects should agree more with "who has developed independence of person" and "who is pleasure-loving, comfort-seeking" and emphasize the related themes of the ideal self-concept. Again, tests of this hypothesis, which followed the procedures described for hypothesis 1, found no support for the expected results.

The fourth hypothesis dealt with the assumption that Hispanics are high in individuality and the Mainstream subjects in individualism. Hence we expected greater agreement in the Hispanic data with items that deal with someone "who reacts a lot when somebody puts you down," "who feels self-respect, is high in self-esteem" and emphasis on "to feel self-respect, high self-esteem." The Mainstream respondents should be higher on "who is intelligent and quick thinking," "who is seeking the truth, and wants to understand," "who is successful, wins most competitions," "who is intellectual, good with abstract ideas," and "who is honest, never cheating" and the ideal self's corresponding themes. Again, tests of the hypothesis found no support for our assumptions.

The fifth hypothesis, that Hispanics are high in uncertainty avoidance, leads us to expect a self-concept higher than the Mainstream respondents on items such as "is conservative, relying on tradition," "is free of inner conflicts," and an ideal self which indicates that they want "to have a comfortable life" and to "be conservative, relying on tradition."

The Mainstream respondents should give more emphasis than the Hispanics to the item "to have an exciting life, stimulating activity." No support was found for this hypothesis when using procedures outlined earlier for hypothesis 1.

The sixth hypothesis, that Hispanics will have self-concepts with lower levels of ability and lower aspirations, would lead us to expect that they would be less likely to agree than the Mainstream subjects with self-concept items such as being intelligent, a leader, successful, intellectual, creative, poised, and strong. No support was found for this hypothesis.

Given the strong response set of the Hispanics it is perhaps interesting to examine the items on which the Hispanics show less agreement than the Mainstream subjects. Table 1 presents the actual means and standard deviations of the self-concept items and Table 2 presents the means for the ideal self items. Inspection of these tables reveals that the Hispanics agree less than the Mainstream subjects on being loyal, content, successful, intellectual, dutiful, self-sacrificing, and enjoying food, and emphasize the goals of adventuresome deeds, pleasant working conditions, pleasant co-workers, pleasant supervisor, intelligent, and intellectual. This pattern of answers suggests that the Hispanics are attempting to describe themselves in ways which go counter to the prevailing Mainstream stereotype of Hispanics (loyal, self-sacrificing, dutiful); and in describing the ideal-self they also counter the stereotype of Hispanic's greater emphasis on good interpersonal relations. However, a competing hypothesis is that the Navy recruits Hispanics who are atypical. Since we do not have data in this study that can discriminate between these two hypotheses, it remains to find corroboration for one or the other of these hypotheses in our other data.

Table 3 presents the items that clustered in the Mainstream and

Hispanic data, which were considered at least <u>desirable</u>. Table 4 presents those items that clustered for which mean agreement levels exceeded 3.0, i.e. the subjects considered that the item was describing them appropriately. Thus these tables omit items that (a) did not cluster (which probably means that individual subjects understood them sufficiently differently that the items did not relate systematically to other items) and (b) did not have a mean rating of less than 3.0 (indicating that most subjects did not consider them as part of their ideal self or their actual self).

Inspection of Table 3 shows that while there were some similarities in the clusters obtained from the Mainstream and Hispanic data the general trend was for the clusters to be different. For example, the <u>Well Adjusted</u> cluster of the Mainstream subjects overlapped the <u>Healthy Life</u> cluster of the Hispanics, in that both clusters included the ideas of nice children and the ability to control oneself, but there were subtle differences. The Mainstream subjects associated traits like honest and dutiful with good adjustment, while the Hispanics associated physical health, and self-actualization. In descending order of importance, the Mainstream respondents had a Self-Actualization factor while the Hispanics had an Exemplary Life factor; the former emphasized pleasure loving, while the latter focused on simple pleasures. The Mainstream respondents stressed self-sufficiency, economic achievement, and intelligence while the Hispanics emphasized leadership, equanimity, and amiability. Finally, the Mainstream subjects emphasized social adjustment, religious achievement, kindness, likeability and independence, while the Hispanics emphasized likeability, indepenedence, achievement, and social participation.

Turning to the self-concept we find the Mainstream respondents emphasizing, in descending order of importance, being likeable, kind, sincere, intelligent, independent, "Mr. America," honest, conservative, and moderate; while the Hispanics, again in descending order of importance,

emphasized being sensitive, kind, simpatico, loyal, independent, respected, a leader, wisely intelligent, liberally religious, dutiful, adaptable, idealistic, gracious, active, a gentleman, and conforming.

A MANOVA on the items of the ideal self differentiated the Mainstream from the Hispanic scores (p<.001). The Hispanics indicated that it was essential or important for them to be the kinds of persons who initiate change, are creative, coordinators, forgiving, adaptive, serene, open to new experiences, refined, athletic, and have a comfortable life, while the Mainstream respondents considered those goals as simply desirable.

A MANOVA on the items concerned with the self-concept showed similar patterns. The Hispanics were more sure that they were refined, conservative, well adjusted, able to get people to work together well, and adaptive than the Mainstream respondents.

The fact that on all those items where the MANOVAs indicated a difference between Mainstream and Hispanic responses, the Hispanics tend to use the left-side of the scale (essential, important, Yes for sure, Yes) rather than the middle of the scale (desirable, don't know) while the Mainstream subjects tend to use the middle of the scale, suggests the possibility that these differences may be due to a Hispanic acquiescence response set.

To control for this response set we undertook one more analysis. Each individual's responses to all scales were converted to Z-scores, i.e. were forced to have a mean of zero and a standard deviation of 1.00. We then computed each individual's response to each item and examined, via t-tests, whether the responses of the Hispanics and the Mainstream were similar or different, from each item. This procedure apparently over-corrected for response set, since 4 out of 5 of the obtained significant results were inconsistent with the previous literature (e.g. Mainstream indicating that they are "unusually loyal to their friends" to a greater

extent than the Hispanics). In any case, since the majority of the comparisons did not reach significance the most defensible conclusion is that there are no differences in values between these two samples.

Since the self-concept and ideal self questionnaires included several corresponding items it was possible to inquire whether there is convergence between the self-concept and the ideal self in the data of a given individual. Such convergence may be viewed as a measure of perceived self-actualization (I am what I would like to be). Cattell's R was computed for each subject. This measure reflects the similarity of the ratings of ideal and actual self. Correlations of this measure with measures of acculturation and biculturalism reported in Triandis, Hui, Lisansky and Marín (1982), revealed one strong correlation. A measure of acculturation which indicated preference by a Hispanic for his children's attendance at Anglo school, and his own preference for Anglo co-workers, correlated .34 (p<.003) with the above mentioned index of self-actualization. It would appear, then, that acculturated Hispanics may be perceiving themselves as more self-actualized than non-acculturate Hispanics, at least as measured by our indices. If that finding is replicated it may have important implications for mental health studies.

The mean profiles for the self-concept and the perception of the ideal self obtained from the two groups were correlated. Pearson r for the Mainstream was .81; Spearman ρ was .70; for the Hispanic data the correlations were .80 and .61 respectively. Thus, there is a tendency for the Mainstream data to show more convergence between ideal and actual self than for the Hispanic data. This is consistent with the previous point, that non-acculturated Hispanics may see less consistency between the self-concept and ideal concept than the more acculturated Hispanics and the Mainstream. The ideal selves of the two samples were highly similar (r=.95; ρ=.92). The self-concepts were also highly similar (r=.93, ρ=.92).

Discussion

There are several possible interpretations for the fact that the hypotheses extracted from the review of the literature were not supported by our data. First, it may be that the literature is not dependable. Second, it may be that the segment of the literature that insists that there are no differences in values between Hispanics and Mainstream individuals is providing the correct picture. Third, it may be that the Navy samples are atypical. Fourth, it is possible that the method we have used to study values is not able to detect the values reported in the literature.

A choice among these four interpretations is difficult. We are inclined to take the first interpretation seriously, because in most of the studies that have reported the hypothesized differences there were no controls for social class, acculturation, biculturalism, and so forth. But, in our study we did examine the effects of these variables on the respondents' values, and the effects were minor. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that many of the studies that report differences in values between Hispanics and Mainstream subjects have studied lower class or rural Hispanics and some have been based on impressionistic analyses of a Hispanic group. The second interpretation seems to be inconsistent with the wealth of findings of our cluster analysis. The third has some support both from the minor findings of this study and from the study by Triandis, Ottati and Marín (1982), which suggests that the Navy may be recruiting atypical Hispanics: individuals who are high in modernity and have strong work values, which may not be the case with the majority of Hispanics in this country. To see if this view is really defensible it is necessary to collect data from non-Navy samples, which we are hoping to do shortly. The fourth interpretation is raising the question of the validity of the

method used. While we have as yet no data on this point, it seems unlikely that the very abstracts methods used in the studies in the literature reviewed would be as clearly understandable by our subjects as the more concrete themes we used in the present study.

On balance it would seem that there are differences in values between Hispanics and Mainstream, but that the differences are subtle. Note, for instance, the contrasts between the Mainstream and Hispanic self-concepts: likeable/sensitive, sincere/simpatico, intelligent/loyal, "Mr. America"/ respected leader. While these contrasts are not sharp, they suggest the emphasis on interpersonal relationships among Hispanics that has appeared repeatedly in the literature.

The present method of studying values and self-concepts has resulted in an embarassment of riches. The obtained clusters are both similar and different between Mainstream and Hispanic subjects. But the differences are subtle. For example, the most salient Mainstream value is good adjustment, with emphasis on psychological attributes such as wisdom, self-control, honesty, and dutifulness; the most salient Hispanic value is healthy life with emphasis on both physical and psychological health, as seen in the attributes of good health, self-actualization, and self-control. The Mainstream emphasis on self-actualization as a separate cluster continues the stress on psychological attributes, while the Hispanic emphasis on exemplary life stresses the relationship of the individual with others, and with the supernatural.

More interesting, perhaps, is the clear Mainstream hedonistic emphasis, (pleasure loving), as opposed to the Hispanic emphasis on simple pleasures. The self-sufficiency emphasis on the next Mainstream cluster, together with the economic achievement theme which is given a somewhat greater emphasis in that sample than by the Hispanics suggests the kind of individualism identified by Hofstede (1980) in U.S. data. The equanimity and

amiability clusters among Hispanics remind us of their emphasis on inter-
personal relationships, while achievement comes lower in the Hispanic
hierarchy.

While these comments emphasize differences between Mainstream and
Hispanics one could also look at similarities. The simple pleasures
theme is found in both sets of data, though it is higher in the hierarchy
of the Hispanics; the leader theme is common, though more elaborated in
the Hispanic data. Both samples also emphasize being likeable, and
independent.

The self-concept data again include both similarities and differences.
Both samples emphasize being kind, intelligent, and independent. The
Mainstream respondents also emphasize being likeable, sincere, "Mr.
America," honest, conservative, and moderate. The Hispanics emphasize
being sensitive, simpatico, loyal, respected, a leader, liberally religious,
dutiful, adaptable, idealistic, gracious, active, a gentleman, and conform-
ing. On the whole, the Mainstream emphasis is on individual attributes
("Mr. America," honest, conservative, moderate) while the Hispanic emphasis
tends to be more interpersonal (sensitive, simpatico, loyal, respected,
dutiful, gracious, conforming).

In sum, while we did not find support for the hypotheses suggested in
the literature, there was support for the notion that there are minor
subtle differences in values (i.e. ideal self and self-concepts) between
the Mainstream and Hispanic groups. The Mainstream's individualism and
the Hispanic emphasis on interpersonal relationships did appear in more
than one analysis.

Table 1: Means and Standard Deviations of Responses to Self-Concept Items

1=Yes, for sure; 5=No, for sure

Are you the kind of person who:	Mainstream $\bar{x}$	Mainstream σ	Hispanics $\bar{x}$	Hispanics σ
is wise and has a mature understanding of life?	2.1	.7	2.0	.7
is humble and does not insist on own views?	2.6	1.0	2.5	1.0
is skillful and is good with own hands?	2.1	1.0	2.0	.9
is highly intelligent and quick thinking?	2.4	1.0	2.3	1.0
is self controlled and self-disciplined?	2.4	.9	2.1	.9
is seeking the truth and wants to understand?	1.7	.7	1.5	.7
reacts a lot when somebody puts you down?	3.0	1.2	2.9	1.2
is lucky and has good fortune?	3.0	1.0	2.9	1.0
controls yourself and faces troubles without complaining?	2.5	1.1	2.3	1.0
is independent, self-sufficient?	2.4	.9	2.1	1.0
enjoys good food, music, the beauty of nature more than most people?	1.7	.9	1.7	.9
is adaptive, fits well in different groups, in different cultures?	2.5	1.1	2.1	1.0
is unusually loyal to a few close friends?	1.8	.9	2.0	1.0
is able to take in and be open to new experiences?	2.1	.9	1.8	.8
is physically attractive, handsome or beautiful?	2.5	1.0	2.4	.9
is moderate, doing nothing in excess?	2.9	1.1	2.8	1.1
is idealistic, pursuing high values?	2.3	.9	2.2	.8
is a leader?	2.6	.9	2.6	.9
is likeable, popular?	2.4	.9	2.1	.9
easily deals with difficult situations (e.g. floods, earthquakes)?	2.3	.9	2.3	.9
thinks a lot about own feelings and perceptions	1.9	.9	1.8	.8
is unusually kind, forgiving?	2.2	1.1	1.9	.8

Table 1 (page 2)   -22-

	Mainstream		Hispanics	
	$\bar{x}$	σ	$\bar{x}$	σ
Are you the kind of person who:				
has developed independence of persons?	2.5	1.0	2.2	.9
has developed independence of things?	2.4	1.0	2.3	.9
is conservative, relying on tradition?	3.0	1.1	2.6	1.1
is content, happy?	2.2	.9	2.3	1.0
is loyal, defends the honor of the group?	2.0	.8	1.8	.8
is well-adjusted, in harmony with the social environment?	2.3	.9	2.0	.8
is loving, warm, and cuddly?	2.2	1.0	1.9	.9
is successful, wins most competitions?	2.7	.9	2.8	1.0
is intellectual, good with abstract ideas?	2.4	1.0	2.5	1.0
likes intimacy, to be close to others?	1.9	.9	2.0	.9
feels self-respect, is high in self-esteem?	2.0	.9	1.9	.8
waits to take in outside influences?	2.8	1.0	2.8	1.1
is self-sacrificing, willing to help others?	1.9	.9	2.0	.9
is creative, finds new ideas, makes new things?	2.3	1.1	2.3	1.0
is poised, gracious, charming?	2.6	.9	2.6	1.0
shows sympathetic concern for others?	2.0	.8	1.8	.8
is rational, rarely indulging in wishful thinking?	2.9	1.1	2.6	1.0
is religious, has faith?	2.3	1.2	2.1	.9
enjoys good food, music, the beauty of nature, more than most other people?	1.7	1.0	2.0	1.0
is likely to be a success in politics?	3.7	1.1	3.4	1.1
is likely to become rich?	2.9	1.0	2.8	.9
acts so as to be as much as possible in touch with beauty: paintings, music-making or poetry?	2.8	1.0	2.8	1.2
does what your family wants you to do?	2.9	1.1	2.9	1.1
is honest, never cheating?	2.6	1.1	2.5	1.1
can put together action, enjoyment and reflection?	2.1	.8	2.2	.8

Table 1 (page 3)

Are you the kind of person who:	Mainstream		Hispanics	
	$\bar{x}$	σ	$\bar{x}$	σ
initiates and starts things changing?	2.5	.9	2.4	.9
is free of inner conflicts?	3.0	1.1	2.6	1.0
takes advantage of opportunities, does not miss a chance?	2.4	.9	2.4	.9
has no worldly desires and is approaching Nirvana (a state of no desires)?	3.7	1.2	3.6	1.3
is strong and able to defend against your enemies (if any)?	2.2	.9	2.0	.8
is a good coordinator, able to get people to work together well?	2.6	.9	2.2	.8
is refined, almost never vulgar?	3.0	1.2	2.5	1.1
lets yourself be used?	3.5	1.1	3.5	1.2
has many sexual experiences?	2.5	1.2	2.3	1.1
is dutiful, fulfilling all your obligations?	2.2	.9	2.3	.8
is pleasure-loving, comfort seeking?	1.8	.7	1.9	.8
is serene, aloof from the problems of the world?	2.8	1.2	2.7	1.0
likes to be more active than many people, who likes to change the environment?	2.4	.9	2.4	1.0
likes to experience the environment and analyze own feelings?	2.1	.9	1.9	.7
likes to change yourself to become what you can become?	2.0	.9	2.0	.8

Table 2: Means and Standard Deviations of Ideal Self Items

1=Essential; 5=I reject this

Are you the kind of person who wants:	Mainstream $\bar{x}$	σ	Hispanics $\bar{x}$	σ
to have a comfortable life?	1.9	.8	1.6	.7
to be widely known, a historical personage?	3.3	.9	3.1	1.0
to have good health?	1.7	.8	1.4	.7
to be well taken care of by others?	3.3	1.2	3.0	1.1
to have an active life of social participation?	2.8	1.0	2.4	.9
to have a job that provides adventures, explorations of dangerous places?	2.8	1.1	2.8	1.0
to achieve in peace (e.g. Nobel Prize for peace)?	3.2	1.0	3.0	1.1
to own a nice house?	1.9	.8	1.7	.8
to engage in adventuresome deeds (e.g. climb dangerous mountain)?	3.0	1.1	3.2	1.1
to have control, influence, over others?	3.2	1.1	3.0	1.0
to have a job that provides pleasant working conditions (airconditioning, etc.)?	2.3	.9	2.5	1.0
to succeed in politics?	3.9	1.0	3.8	1.0
to be a good athlete, good sports person?	3.0	1.0	2.6	1.0
to influence organized religion?	3.4	1.0	3.3	1.1
to achieve in science (e.g. Nobel Prize in science)?	3.4	1.1	3.3	1.1
to make a lasting contribution, have a life of accomplishment?	2.2	.9	2.1	1.0
to have a job that allows you to become what you are capable of becoming, that is, allows for self-actualization?	1.9	.8	1.8	.9
to achieve as a scholar (e.g. Nobel Prize in Literature)?	3.4	.7	3.0	1.1
to have a job with pleasant co-workers, who might become good friends?	1.9	.8	2.1	.8
to become wealthy, have a large fortune?	2.6	.9	2.5	.9

Table 2 (page 2)   -25-

	Mainstream		Hispanics	
	$\overline{x}$	σ	$\overline{x}$	σ
Are you the kind of person who wants:				
to have eternal life, salvation?	2.4	1.4	2.2	1.2
to have nice children?	1.9	.9	1.7	1.0
to achieve economically, have a high monthly income?	2.1	.8	2.0	.9
to have a job with a pleasant supervisor, with whom you might become good friends?	2.3	1.0	2.4	.9
to have social achievement (membership in exclusive country clubs)?	3.2	1.0	3.1	1.1
to live with wholesome, carefree enjoyment?	2.3	.9	2.2	1.0
to achieve as an artist (to be a great painter, musician)?	3.3	1.1	3.0	1.3
to support the arts (go to concerts, give money to art galleries, buy paintings)?	3.3	1.0	3.1	1.2
to have privacy (no intrusion from others)?	2.4	1.0	2.2	1.0
to develop independence of persons	2.7	1.0	2.6	1.0
to develop independence of things?	2.9	1.0	2.6	.9
to have an exciting life, stimulation, activity?	2.0	.7	2.0	.9
to have a job that builds a better future, changing the world for the better?	2.3	.9	2.1	.8
to have many simple pleasures (good food, soft chairs, etc.)?	2.2	.7	2.2	.9
to have much leisure (time for hobbies)?	2.5	.8	2.3	.7
to have mature love (sexual and spiritual intimacy)?	1.5	.6	1.4	.7
to be known all over the world?	3.6	1.0	3.4	1.1
to have an immortal name?	3.6	.9	3.5	1.1
to be wise, have a mature understanding of life?	2.2	.9	2.0	.8
to be humble, and do not insist on own views?	2.7	1.1	2.4	1.0
to be intelligent, and quick thinking?	2.0	.7	2.1	.8
to be self-disciplined, self-controlled?	2.1	.6	1.9	.8
to understand how the world works (scientific achievement)?	2.6	.9	2.5	1.1

Table 2 (page 3)

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	Mainstream		Hispanics	
	$\overline{x}$	σ	$\overline{x}$	σ
Are you the kind of person who wants:				
to be content, happy?	1.7	.7	1.8	1.0
to be loyal, defend the honor of your group?	2.3	.8	2.2	.8
to be well-adjusted, in harmony with your environment?	2.3	.7	2.0	.8
to be loving, warm and cuddly?	2.1	.8	2.1	.9
to be successful, and win most competitions?	2.6	.9	2.4	.9
to be intellectual, and be good with abstract ideas?	2.3	.8	2.5	.9
to have intimacy and be close to others?	1.9	.7	2.1	.8
to feel self-respect, high self-esteem?	2.0	.8	2.1	.8
to be able to wait quietly for outside influence?	2.9	1.1	2.8	1.1
to be self-sacrificing, willing to help others?	2.4	.7	2.3	.8
to be creative, have new ideas, make new things?	2.6	.9	2.3	.7
to be poised, gracious, charming?	2.6	.8	2.4	.9
to be sympathetically concerned for others?	2.4	.8	2.4	.9
to be rational, experience no wishful thinking?	2.9	.9	2.7	1.0
to be religious, have faith?	2.4	1.3	2.2	1.0
to enjoy life sensuously, to the full?	2.0	.8	1.8	.7
to be able to control yourself, face troubles without complaining?	2.2	.8	1.9	.9
to be independent, self-sufficient?	2.1	.8	1.9	.7
to keep what you believe is the best that humans have attained?	2.5	.9	2.2	.9
to be adaptive, fit well in different groups/cultures?	2.6	.9	2.1	.8
to be a true friend, loyal to a few close friends?	2.0	.8	1.9	.8
to be able to take in, be open to new experiences?	2.3	.9	2.1	.7
to be physically attractive?	2.5	.7	2.4	.7
to be moderate, doing nothing in excess?	3.1	1.1	2.8	.9

Table 2 (page 4)

Are you the kind of person who wants:	Mainstream		Hispanics	
	$\overline{x}$	σ	$\overline{x}$	σ
to be idealistic, pursuing high values?	2.3	.7	2.3	.8
to be a leader?	2.8	.8	2.8	.9
to be likeable, popular?	2.6	.7	2.4	.8
to be able to deal with difficult conditions (floods, earthquakes)?	2.3	.8	2.3	1.0
to think a lot about your own feelings and perceptions?	2.5	1.0	2.2	.8
to be unusually kind, forgiving?	2.5	.7	2.1	.8
to be independent of persons?	2.7	1.0	2.4	1.0
to be conservative, relying on tradition?	3.1	.9	2.9	1.0
to do what your family wants you to do?	3.0	1.0	3.0	1.1
to be honest, never cheating?	2.2	.7	2.1	.8
to be able to put together action, enjoyment, and reflection?	2.3	.7	2.2	.8
to be able to start things changing?	2.9	.8	2.5	.9
to be free of inner conflicts and in peace with your conscience	2.2	.8	2.0	.9
to take advantage of opportunities?	2.1	.7	2.1	.7
to have no worldly desires, and reach Nirvana (a state of no desires)?	3.6	1.3	3.4	1.4
to be strong and able to defend yourself against any enemies?	2.1	.7	2.0	.9
to be a good coordinator, able to get people to work	2.6	.8	2.3	1.0
to be refined, almost never vulgar?	2.7	.9	2.1	.8
to be able to let yourself be used?	3.8	1.3	3.7	1.4
to have had many sexual experiences?	2.7	1.0	2.4	1.0
to have a few, but good sexual experiences?	2.4	1.0	2.3	1.1
to be dutiful, fulfilling all your obligations?	2.1	.7	1.9	.8
to be pleasure-loving, and pleasure-seeking?	2.3	.7	2.3	1.0
to be serene, aloof from the problems of the world?	2.9	1.0	2.4	1.0

Table 3: Ideal Self of Mainstream and Hispanic Subjects

(ordered by size of mean ratings)

Mainstream	Hispanics
Well Adjusted (Decent)	**Healthy Life** – **Security**
to have nice children (1.9)	to have good health (1.4)
to be wise, have mature understanding of life (2.2)	to have a job that allows you to become what you are capable of becoming (1.8
to be self-controlled (2.2)	to have nice children (1.7)
to be honest (2.2)	to be able to control yourself, face troubles without complaining (1.9)
to be dutiful (2.1)	
	Exemplary Life
Self-actualization	to make a lasting contribution, have a life of accomplishment (2.1)
to make a lasting contribution, have a life of accomplishment (2.2)	to have eternal life, salvation (2.2)
to have a job that allows you to become what you are capable of becoming (1.9)	**Simple Pleasures**
to be intelligent and quick thinking (2.0)	to live with wholesome, carefree enjoyment (2.2)
Pleasure Loving	to have many simple pleasures (good food, soft chairs, etc.) (2.2)
to enjoy life sensuously, to the full (2.0)	
to be pleasure loving, pleasure seeking (2.3)	**Be a Leader** – **Social Mobility**
	to have an exciting life, stimulating (2.0)
Self-sufficiency	
to feel self-respect, high self-esteem (2.0)	to be wise, have a mature understanding of life (2.0)
to be independent, self-sufficient (2.1)	
to be idealistic, pursuing high values (2.3)	to be able to take in, be open to new experiences (2.0)
to be able to take in, be open to new experiences (2.3)	to be able to deal with difficult conditions (earthquakes, floods) (2.3)
to be able to deal with difficult conditions (earthquakes, floods) (2.3)	be well adjusted, in harmony with environment (2.0)
	be creative, have new ideas, make new things (2.3)
Be a Leader	
to be a leader (2.8)	to be unusually kind, forgiving (2.1)
	to be able to start things changing (2.5)

Table 3 (page 2)   -29-

Mainstream	Hispanics
Simple Pleasures	**Equanimity - Innocence**
to own a nice house (1.9)	to be intelligent, quick thinking (2.1)
to have many simple pleasures (good food, soft chairs) (2.2)	free of inner conflicts (2.0)
to have much leisure, time for hobbies (2.5)	to be self-disciplined, self-controlled (1.9)
to be loving, warm, cuddly (2.1)	to keep what you believe is the best that humans have attained (2.2)
to be poised, gracious, charming (2.6)	
to be self-disciplined, self-controlled (2.1)	to be idealistic, pursuing high values (2.3)
	to be sympathetically concerned for others (2.4)
Economic Achievement	
to become wealthy, have a large fortune (2.6)	**Amiability**
to achieve economically, have a high monthly income (2.1)	to have a job with a pleasant supervisor with whom you might become good friends (2.4)
to be strong, able to defend yourself against any enemies (2.1)	to be self-sacrificing, willing to help others (2.3)
Intelligent	to feel self-respect, high self-esteem (2.1)
to be intellectual, good with abstract ideas (2.3)	to be adaptive, fit well in different groups, cultures (2.1)
to be able to put together action, enjoyment, and reflection (2.3)	**Likeable - Simpatico**
Socially Adjusted	to be likeable, popular (2.4)
to have a job with pleasant co-workers who might become good friends (1.9)	to be serene, aloof from the problems of the world (2.4)
to be a true friend, loyal to a few close friends (2.0)	**Independent**
to be adaptive, fit well with different groups, cultures (2.6)	to develop independence of things (2.6)
to be loyal, defend the honor of your group (2.3)	to be independent of persons (2.4)
to think a lot about your own feelings and perceptions (2.5)	to be moderate, doing nothing in excess (2.7)
	to be conservative, relying on tradition (2.9)

Table 3 (page 3)   -30-

Mainstream	Hispanics

Mainstream

Religious Achievement

to have eternal life, salvation (2.4)

to be religious, have faith (2.4)

Kindness

to be self-sacrificing, willing to help others (2.4)

to be sympathetically concerned for others (2.4)

to be unusually kind, forgiving (2.5)

Likeable (Mr. America)

to be successful, win most competitions (2.6)

be physically attractive (2.5)

be likeable, popular (2.6)

be a good coordinator, able to make people work together well (2.6)

Independent

to have a job with a pleasant supervisor, with whom you might become good friends (2.3)

to develop independence of things (2.9)

to be independent of persons (2.7)

to be rational, experience no wishful thinking (2.9)

to be serene, aloof from the problems of the world (2.9)

Hispanics

Achievement

to become wealthy, have a large fortune (2.5)

to have a job that provides adventures (2.8)

Social Participation; Social Concern

to have an active life of social participation (2.4)

Table 4: Self-Concept of Mainstream and Hispanic Subjects

(ordered by size of mean ratings)

Mainstream	Hispanics
Likeable	**Sensitive**
unusually loyal to a few close friends (1.8)	enjoy good food, music, the beauty of nature more than most people (1.7)
like intimacy, to be close to others (1.9)	loving, warm and cuddly (1.9)
loyal, defends the honor of the group (2.0)	**Kind**
	usually kind, forgiving (1.9)
feels self-respect, high self-esteem (2.0)	change yourself to become what you can become (2.0)
strong, able to defend against enemies (2.2)	shows sympathetic concern for others (1.8)
dutiful, fulfilling obligations (2.2)	**Self-Sufficient**
Kind	thinks a lot about own feelings and perceptions (1.8)
enjoy good food, music, the beauty of nature more than most people (1.6)	independent, self-sufficient (2.1)
usually kind, forgiving (2.2)	likes intimacy, close to others (2.0)
self-sacrificing, willing to help others (1.9)	pleasure loving, comfort seeking (1.9)
	Loyal - Trusting
Sincere - Understanding	unusually loyal to a few close friends (2.0)
seeking the truth, wants to understand (1.7)	able to take in and be open to new experiences (1.8)
adaptive, fits in different groups, cultures (2.4)	**Independent**
Intelligent/Effective	developed independence of persons (2.2)
skillful, good with own hands (2.1)	developed independence of things (2.3)
intelligent, quick thinking (2.4)	**Respected**
able to take in and be open to new experiences (2.1)	likeable, popular (2.1)
intellectual, good with abstract ideas (2.4)	intellectual, good with abstract ideas (2.)
	feels self-respect, high self-esteem (1.9)

Table 4 (page 2)

Mainstream	Hispanics
Independent	**A Leader - Streetwise**
developed independence of persons (2.5)	a leader (2.6)
developed independence of things (2.4)	easily deals with difficult situations (earthquakes, floods) (2.3)
Mr. America	content, happy (2.3)
physically attractive (2.5)	good coordinator, able to get people to work together well (2.2)
a leader (2.6)	well-adjusted (2.0)
likeable, popular (2.4)	**Wise intelligence**
well-adjusted (2.3)	wise, mature understanding of life (2.0)
loving, warm, cuddly (2.2)	intelligent, quick thinking (2.3)
poised, gracious, charming (2.6)	can put together action, enjoyment, and reflection (2.2)
successful, wins competitions (2.6)	
initiates, starts things changing (2.5)	**Liberally religious**
	religious, has faith (2.1)
Honest	initiates, starts things changing (2.4)
honest, never cheating (2.6)	
free of inner conflicts (3.0)	**Dutiful**
	dutiful, fulfilling all obligations (2.3)
Conservative	
conservative, relying on tradition (3.0)	**Adaptable**
who waits to take in outside influences (2.8)	adaptive, fits well in different groups, cultures (2.1)
	Idealistic
Moderate	idealistic, pursuing high values (2.1)
moderate, doing nothing in excess (2.9)	
does what family wants you to do (2.9)	**Gracious**
	poised, gracious, charming (2.6)

Table 4 (page 3)

<div align="center">

<u>Hispanics</u>

</div>

<u>Active</u>

creative, finds new ideas, makes new
   things (2.3)

more active than many people, likes to
   change the environment (2.4)

<u>A Gentleman</u>

moderate, doing nothing in excess (2.8)

refined, never vulgar (2.5)

free of inner conflicts (2.6)

rational, rarely indulging in wishful
   thinking (2.6)

<u>Conforming</u>

does what family wants you to do (2.9)

Table 5: Attributes of the Ideal Self Concept that are Rejected

Mainstream	Hispanics
Idealism	**Fame**
Achievement in peace (3.2)	Fortune (2.5)
Scholarly achievement (3.4)	Adventure (2.8)
	Conformity to family (3.0)
	Political Achievement
	Political success (3.7)
	Immortal name (3.5)
	Known to the world (3.4)
	Cultured/Priviledged
	Scientific achivement (3.3)
	Supporting the arts (3.1)
	Artistic achievement (3.0)
	Social Achiever
	Good coordinator (3.7
	Social achievement (3.1)

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